United Nations S/PV.3605

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3605th Meeting

Tuesday, 12 December 1995, 4 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Lavrov	(Russian Federation)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	Germany	Mr. Henze
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John Weston
	United States of America	Mr. Gnehm

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1995/1002)

95-87016 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 4.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1995/1002)

The President (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Canada in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Fowler (Canada) took the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*interpretation from Russian*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, document S/1995/1002. Members of the Council also have before them document S/1995/1015, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The first speaker is the representative of Canada. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Fowler (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December and to thank your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Oman, for a successful presidency during the month of November.

As you know, Sir, Canada made its views on the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) very clearly known to the Security Council during the troop contributors' meeting of 6 December. I should now like to express the views of my Government on the draft resolution before the Council.

Canada welcomes all signs of potential progress in the Great Lakes region, such as those contained in the Cairo Declaration. We remain concerned, however, that the situation in the area is inherently unstable due, in considerable part, to the presence of 1.6 million refugees around Rwanda's perimeter.

In this context we would have viewed the renewal of UNAMIR's mandate, with its current strength and composition, as a very modest but minimal and necessary stabilizing presence. We believe that UNAMIR's activities in assisting in confidence-building and in the peaceful and orderly repatriation of refugees still deserve the full support of the Government of Rwanda and of the international community.

The situation in Rwanda is indeed a complex one. The genocide of 1994 is the most recent and the worst of six separate spates of inter-tribal massacres since Rwanda gained its independence in 1962. The prognosis for an end to such vicious events is not bright. A huge proportion of the population of Rwanda has taken refuge outside its national territory. As the Secretary-General has indicated, national reconciliation, essential for stability, will be achieved only when the refugees have come home in dignity and the perpetrators of genocide have been brought to justice.

Since last June, however, the Government of Rwanda has indicated a growing reluctance to have a peace-keeping mission on its territory. A number of countries which care deeply about the plight of Rwanda, including my own, have tried to convince the Government in Kigali that it was in its interest to maintain an effective peace-keeping operation in Rwanda for the purposes of confidence-building and national reconciliation and to assist in the safe return of the refugees.

UNAMIR is also the backbone and the rallying element of a large part of the international humanitarian

assistance effort in Rwanda. Many non-governmental organizations depend on it for logistical and other support and, *in extremis*, for protection. The psychological value of the force, given the horrendous events of 1994, has been extremely important.

In this context, we deplore the order given to 38 non-governmental organizations, among them some of the most prestigious and internationally recognized, to leave Rwanda. We also continue to be concerned over arbitrary arrests and detention in Rwanda, as well as over the conditions of detention of prisoners.

(spoke in English)

During the discussions between the United Nations and the Government of Rwanda over the past six months, the Government of Rwanda has tried to dictate the force structure necessary to accomplish the mandate which you, the members of the Security Council, will assign to the force. It has even refused to accept that UNAMIR should contribute to the safety of international personnel in the case of need. In short, the Government of Rwanda has, ever more stridently, sought to impose unacceptable and unworkable constraints on the continuation of UNAMIR. In June a troop reduction from 5,500 to 1,800 was accepted by the Council. It was understood by the members of the Council, by the Secretariat and by troop contributors alike to be below the bare minimum for a credible mission.

At a force level of 1,800, in addition to 300 observers, UNAMIR's presence in the provinces beyond Kigali has, since June, been inadequate to accomplish its mandate. This size force offered no protection to United Nations observers in a number of areas, and in these areas few useful observations were made. Notwithstanding these very real shortcomings, UNAMIR played a positive role when the Government of Zaire decided to expel refugees from its territory.

The further reduction of the strength of UNAMIR by one third, which the Council is about to decide, is, we believe, an unfortunate development. It is unfortunate because we have allowed the Government of Rwanda to set its own conditions on the mandate and the structure of the Mission, independent of expert advice as to what is required. It is unfortunate, as well, because the Security Council will be compromising the integrity of a peace-keeping mission and the credibility of the Organization to fulfil the short-term, politically expedient requirement of retaining the Mission in place at all costs. It is particularly unfortunate because UNAMIR will not be able to do the job which it was designed to accomplish.

Mandates and force structures do not have separate existences. We should have learned this in the early days in Mogadishu, when United Nations troops were unable to move beyond the airport while anarchy raged outside their perimeter. Surely we should also have learned from the tragic lessons of the creation of safe areas in Bosnia, which we knew we could not keep safe with the forces the Security Council and Member States were prepared to make available. Indeed, we should have learned from our tragic experience in Rwanda in April 1994, when an under-manned, ill-equipped Mission was unable to deter civil unrest, let along confront genocide. Surely we should have learned that politically motivated creative ambiguity, the willingness to endlessly compromise essential Mission elements, has repeatedly compromised the United Nations, our peace-keepers and the people and interests they are meant to protect.

The issue here is not so much whether UNAMIR should have 800, 1,200, 1,400, 1,800 or 5,500 troops but, rather, whether the force structure as a whole will or will not be able to accomplish the mission the Council will assign to the force. UNAMIR will, with one third fewer troops, now be confined, largely in a garrison mode, to Kigali, yet will retain a mandate essentially unchanged from the one it received in June.

The peaceful repatriation of refugees is crucial if we expect to make progress towards the peace in the Great Lakes region. How will a UNAMIR with a limited presence outside Kigali be able to perform the task of assisting

> "the Government of Rwanda in facilitating the voluntary and safe repatriation of refugees and, to this end, to support the ... ongoing efforts to promote a climate of confidence and trust through the performance of monitoring tasks" *(S/1995/1015, operative paragraph 2 (b))*?

How, from Kigali, will the force acquit the task of assisting the

> "United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other international agencies in the provision of logistical support for the repatriation of refugees" *(ibid., operative paragraph 2 (c))*?

Is it realistic to presume that such a force will be able to provide effective support for the Human Rights Field Operation, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations? How could the Security Council agree to withdraw, at the request of the Government of Rwanda, one crucial element of the mandate, that is, UNAMIR's fundamental role of protecting the international personnel in case of need?

Has the Security Council seriously considered these issues? Has it given sufficient consideration to the military advice that it, and we troop contributors, have received on this question?

How can UNAMIR, by withdrawing yet more troops and military observers from the provinces, be able to assist in any significant way in the return of the refugees or in confidence-building in Rwanda? Given the extreme volatility in the region, the United Nations runs the risk once again of witnessing horrible events that it will be powerless to prevent or even influence. In such circumstances the United Nations force would be roundly criticized for its inaction and, this time, would merit the international opprobrium it would attract.

By creating false expectations about what UNAMIR can realistically achieve, the Security Council would be demonstrating, in our view, that it has not yet fully absorbed lessons learned from the recent past in peace-keeping operations. If we have learned one thing from our experiences in Somalia, the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda itself, it is that we must provide to the United Nations the resources it needs to perform the tasks assigned by Member States — effectively by the members of the Security Council. If we, the Member States, are not prepared to provide adequate resources, the United Nations should not be involved.

It appears that the Government of Rwanda is not prepared to accept the presence of a United Nations peace operation with the force structure necessary to accomplish the mandate Rwanda had agreed it should perform. The United Nations must not allow itself to be put in the position of supplicant, of pleading with any Government to receive or retain a peace-keeping operation. In this case we believe it would have been preferable to withdraw UNAMIR immediately, as the Secretary-General had indicated in his report he intended to do.

Given the new force structure of a limited and possibly ineffective operation, Canada will have to consider its options carefully regarding its own participation in UNAMIR.

In closing, I would like to underline Canada's continuing commitment to encouraging stability in the Great Lakes region. We have participated in UNAMIR since its inception and have buttressed that participation with substantial support to United Nations agencies working in Rwanda, as well as through our bilateral aid programme. We will continue to work with the Government of Rwanda in its efforts to rebuild its ravaged country.

The President (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Canada for the kind words he addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Sir John Weston (United Kingdom): The British Government warmly welcomes the draft resolution before the Council, extending the work of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for a further three months, and we shall vote in favour of it. We pay tribute to those States — Canada, India, Nigeria, Mali, Ghana and Malawi — that are contributing troops to UNAMIR. We also welcome the Government of Rwanda's support for and agreement to the continuation of UNAMIR's work in its country.

As the Secretary-General has reported, a climate of relative security and stability has continued to prevail in Rwanda. The Government of Rwanda deserves every credit for its efforts in this regard. We take particular note of the Government of Rwanda's recommitment to ensuring the safety of international personnel in Rwanda. At the same time, we know that the international humanitarian personnel in Rwanda attach importance to UNAMIR's continued presence, and this draft resolution will, we believe, be important in that regard. We trust that the Government of Rwanda will seek the assistance of UNAMIR in that task should the need arise.

The presence of 1.6 million refugees in States neighbouring Rwanda continues to give cause for concern. We welcome the fact that, at the summit of Heads of State of the Great Lakes region, held in Cairo on 28 and 29 November, leaders in the region pledged to encourage the return of refugees to their home countries. A primary objective of the international community is to assist the Government of Rwanda by creating the conditions for the voluntary and safe return of those refugees. The Cairo Declaration has given grounds for renewed hope in this context, and the new mandate of UNAMIR rightly focuses on this. We welcome the Government of Rwanda's agreement to the extension of UNAMIR's mandate, with the return of refugees as its primary focus. If, as we hope will be the case, there is to be a substantial return of refugees to Rwanda in the next few months pursuant to the Cairo Declaration, we believe that UNAMIR's continued presence with its new mandate focusing on this issue, on assisting the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in that process, will be the key to ensuring that the refugees return home in conditions of dignity.

It is also a matter of the greatest importance to the British Government that the perpetrators of the genocide be brought to justice. This is an important element in the return to normality in Rwanda. We note that the International Tribunal for Rwanda has now begun the significant task of identifying the perpetrators of genocide and of bringing them to justice, and only today has issued an indictment. We call on all States in the region to cooperate with the Tribunal as it goes about its work. We welcome the fact that UNAMIR will continue to assist in the coming period in providing security for the Tribunal until the arrangements worked out between the Government of Rwanda and the Tribunal are put in place. We call on all States in the region to cooperate with the Tribunal as it goes about its work.

We note that this is the final extension of UNAMIR's mandate. But we believe that the United Nations and the international community at large will continue to have an important role to play when UNAMIR leaves on 8 March 1996. The British Government will continue to assist the international community at large in building peace and in helping in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Rwanda. In this context, we hope that discussions can soon begin on a possible future role for the United Nations in restoring confidence and building stability in Rwanda once UNAMIR leaves.

Mr. Qin Huasun (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Please allow me at the outset, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I am convinced that, with your outstanding abilities and wealth of diplomatic experience, you will guide the Council's work to success during the final month of 1995. I wish also to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Salim Bin Mohammed Al-Khussaiby, for his contribution to the complete success of the Council's work last month.

The dawn of peace and stability has finally come to Rwanda after repeated setbacks. We are pleased to note that the improvement of the security situation in Rwanda has brought about a further improvement in the humanitarian situation and has enabled Rwanda to embark gradually on the road of rehabilitation, reconstruction and development. The Government and the people of Rwanda have made tremendous efforts to this end, with gratifying successes.

Today the core of the question of Rwanda is national reconciliation, the most important element of which is the voluntary repatriation of the 1.6 million refugees. The protracted presence of large numbers of refugees has brought huge pressure and difficulties not only to Rwanda but also to the region as a whole. Therefore, the international community has the responsibility to assist Rwanda and other countries in the region in the return of Rwandese refugees to their homeland to live a stable life.

In the light of the favourable changes in Rwanda, and with the consent of the Rwandese Government, the Council has decided to extend the mandate of UNAMIR and to adjust its size and mandate, under which it will mainly play a mediating role, assist the voluntary return of Rwandese refugees and help Rwanda achieve national reconciliation within the framework of the Arusha peace agreement. This conforms to the interests of the Rwandese people. Therefore, the Chinese delegation, based on its consistent support for the peace process in Rwanda, will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

We hope that the adoption of the draft resolution will further promote peace and stability in Rwanda and contribute to national reconciliation and a peaceful and stable life for the Rwandese people at an early date.

The President (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of China for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Wibisono (Indonesia): Let me begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December and by assuring you of my delegation's full cooperation in the discharge of your demanding duties. We are fully confident that given your wisdom and well-known leadership qualities, we can be assured of substantial progress. I should like also to congratulate your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Al-Khussaiby of Oman, for his skilful stewardship during the month of November.

The Indonesian delegation would like to express its deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his comprehensive and insightful report (S/1995/1002) concerning the current situation in Rwanda. We are encouraged by the report that some definite progress has been registered regarding political and socio-economic developments and that, as a result, a climate of relative security has continued to prevail in Rwanda. This progress is reflected by the recent re-establishment of the national judicial system through, *inter alia*, the appointment of the Supreme Court and the establishment of "triage committees" by the Government of Rwanda. In this context, we applaud the Government of Rwanda's efforts in fostering peace and security, especially in its determined efforts to reconstruct and rehabilitate the country. We are confident that the Government of Rwanda and the international community will continue their commitments to maintain and build upon the important progress already achieved.

While we fully recognize the important progress that has been made, we are nevertheless very concerned by the continuing atmosphere of tension and instability prevailing throughout the region. This is due in particular to persistent acts of insurgency, infiltration and sabotage perpetrated by the former Rwandese Government Forces in refugee camps along the Zaire-Rwanda border. It cannot be denied that the problems now confronting Rwanda are of a very complex nature and thus require an integrated approach that takes into account the many underlying aspects and considerations.

In my delegation's view, a stable and lasting peace will continue to be elusive until protracted problems such as refugee repatriation and national reconciliation are adequately addressed. In this regard, we support the suitable approach set forth in the draft resolution, which includes a modified role for the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). In particular, we can foresee the possibility of transferring non-lethal equipment to the Government of Rwanda, as expressed in paragraph 7 of the draft resolution, as it assumes greater responsibility in refugee repatriation and national reconciliation. My delegation is confident that through continued cooperation between the Government of Rwanda and UNAMIR, the difficult tasks that still lie ahead will prove to be less cumbersome. We believe that this close cooperation will more than adequately compensate for the concerns associated with the reduction in the number of UNAMIR personnel, as mandated in the draft resolution.

Additionally, these endeavours can be bolstered by the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Rwanda, which constitute the key elements for a lasting peace.

We therefore call upon United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to continue to lend their valuable assistance to the Government of Rwanda.

Having said this, and upon careful reflection and deliberation, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us today. The draft, in our opinion, provides for good offices and logistical support for the voluntary and safe repatriation of Rwandan refugees, and should contribute to the promotion of a climate of mutual trust and confidence through the performance of monitoring tasks. Moreover, we also endorse the call for United Nations agencies and non-governmental agencies to continue their critical support in the essentially important area of humanitarian assistance. Needless to say, these objectives would be significantly promoted if they were implemented within a secure and safe environment, the maintenance of which is primarily up to the Government of Rwanda, a sovereign nation.

In conclusion, we believe that this draft resolution offers a renewed hope of fostering peace and prosperity for Rwanda after years of deprivation and a tremendous toll in human suffering. Furthermore, it should contribute greatly to the prospects that one day the people of Rwanda and throughout the Great Lakes region will be able to advance their lives in a more productive and peaceful environment, free from fear and the ravages of war.

The President (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Indonesia for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana): The delegation of Botswana congratulates you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. I assure you of the full support and cooperation of my delegation. I also wish to thank the Ambassador of Oman for the efficient manner in which he guided the work of the Council in November.

The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) has made a tremendous contribution to peace and stability, not only in Rwanda but in the Great Lakes region. With respect to Rwanda itself, a country that at one point had more than 2 million of its inhabitants outside its borders as refugees, the presence of UNAMIR is an important catalyst in the process of national healing and a reassurance to the refugees that they can return to their country safely, in honour and dignity. It is regrettable that 1.6 million of these refugees are still in camps in neighbouring States. Their return and resettlement is a key element in the process of national reconciliation.

The report of the Secretary-General indicates that a lot still needs to be done before agreement can be reached on convening a regional conference under the auspices of the United Nations. We are of the view that the Cairo Conference was not intended to be a substitute for the regional conference proposed by the United Nations. While the efforts made by President Carter have certainly advanced the cause of peace and security in the region, as evidenced by the results of the Cairo meeting, the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity should continue their efforts aimed at enabling the Governments of the region to find common ground on an agenda for the conference. The report of the Secretary-General clearly shows that there are issues concerning relations between Rwanda and some neighbouring States that the Security Council cannot afford to ignore. The Security Council is unanimous in its recognition of the fact that Rwanda's current difficulties have subregional dimensions that require political and diplomatic solutions.

My delegation has carefully considered the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/1015. The draft has been the subject of intensive and painstaking negotiations. We are pleased that the spirit of compromise prevailed, and we now have a consensus text. Botswana's preference would have been for UNAMIR's mandate to be extended by a further six months, for the reasons stated in paragraph 47 of the report. UNAMIR plays an important role as the eyes and ears of the international community, as we have stated. This is even more crucial in view of the increased infiltration and acts of sabotage perpetrated by the former Rwandese Government Forces.

We have noted that the Government of Rwanda had originally requested that the mandate of UNAMIR be terminated on 8 December 1995. However, it has demonstrated flexibility by accepting a further three-month extension in response to our collective view that the continued presence of UNAMIR in Rwanda is in Rwanda's interest.

The assistance of the international community will continue to be critical in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the socio-economic sectors of the Rwandese national economy. The greatest challenge facing the Government and the people of Rwanda is the return and resettlement of the refugee population.

In the short term, it will be necessary to assist Rwanda to develop the capacity to receive a large number of returning refugees. In the long term, substantial resources will be needed to embark on an accelerated housing programme, in view of the complex problems related to ownership of property. In all these challenges, the international community should not abandon Rwanda.

In this respect, we have noted the Government of Rwanda's request that it receive assistance by way of UNAMIR's equipment and material when the mandate of the Mission ends. The difficulties that the Government of Rwanda is experiencing as a result of inheriting a country which was brutally and severely looted are well known. This has made the task of reconstruction and rehabilitation extremely difficult. We therefore fully support operative paragraph 7 of the draft resolution and hope that a way will be found to respond positively to the genuine request of Rwanda.

The President (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Botswana for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): Permit me, at the outset, to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. Your well-known diplomatic skills and experience and, in particular, your great sense of humour assure my delegation that, this month at least, the Council will be in excellent hands and that we shall have a quiet Christmas, for which we thank you in advance.

Let me also take this opportunity to thank Ambassador Al-Khussaiby and all the other members of the delegation of Oman for their effective stewardship of the Council's affairs during the month of November.

My delegation is grateful to the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report on the situation in Rwanda, including the activities of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). We are happy to note that a climate of relative security and stability continues to prevail in Rwanda and that some improvements in the socio-economic sectors have occurred. Another positive and significant development is in the area of justice, where the first effective steps towards revival of the national judicial system have occurred, with the appointment of the Supreme Court on 17 October.

None the less, we remain concerned about the tense security situation, particularly along the borders. The continued infiltrations of armed persons from the refugee camps in countries neighbouring Rwanda, particularly Zaire, are largely responsible for this situation. We hope that the International Commission of Inquiry investigating reports of military training and illegal arms transfers will complete its work soon and that its findings will enable the Security Council to find ways of addressing the problems.

My delegation agrees that a return to stability, security and harmony in Rwanda is largely dependent on national reconciliation. This process can be facilitated only if conditions conducive to the return of the approximately 1.6 million refugees currently residing precariously outside Rwanda are created and if those suspected of involvement in last year's genocide are brought to justice. We know that the Government of Rwanda has been doing its best, within its very limited resources, to create those conditions. However, the Government cannot do it alone. We therefore urge the international community to provide the necessary support and assistance.

Concerning the problem of the Rwandan refugees, my country believes that repatriation must be voluntary, safe and orderly. This inevitably has a regional dimension. In this connection, our hope is that the impetus generated by the Cairo Conference, under the auspices of President Carter, will not be allowed to dissipate and that all concerned will indeed implement faithfully and promptly the agreements and commitments registered at that Conference.

None the less, it is the view of my delegation that the Cairo Conference, useful as it was, cannot be a substitute for a United Nations conference co-sponsored by the Organization of African Unity. We therefore request the Secretary-General to continue his consultations with the countries of the region in order to find a basis for the holding of such an important and useful conference.

With regard to the International Tribunal for Rwanda, we hope that it will soon overcome its remaining administrative and procedural problems so that it can contribute to the process of national reconciliation. This is why we are particularly encouraged by the news, which we heard this morning, that the Tribunal has already handed down its first indictments. We therefore thank those countries that have contributed investigators for the Prosecutor's Office.

With respect to UNAMIR, we believe that it has discharged effectively the tasks and duties assigned to it. My country is happy to have contributed troops to UNAMIR. The concern of the Government of Rwanda that the existing mandate of UNAMIR is not well suited to the current needs of the Government and people for reconstruction, rehabilitation and rebuilding has much merit. My delegation sympathizes with this view, which was taken by the Rwandan Government not lightly but, rather, as the result of a thorough assessment of the situation on the ground. We respect the position taken by the Government of Rwanda in its sovereign decision.

None the less, given the efforts that were exerted to ensure the second deployment of UNAMIR last year, and on the basis of our conviction that even in this relatively improved security climate UNAMIR still has useful contributions to make to improving the overall situation in Rwanda, we certainly do not want UNAMIR's mandate to be terminated abruptly. We are therefore happy to note that it has been possible, in this draft resolution, to find a basis for the renewal and continuation of UNAMIR, with a mandate that is appropriate to the current realities in Rwanda.

We thank the Government of Rwanda for having demonstrated such flexibility and understanding of the views and sentiments not only of the friends of Rwanda, but also of members of the international community as a whole that are willingly committed to doing something positive and right for Rwanda at this time of national difficulty.

There is no doubt that what the Government and people of Rwanda now need most is economic and financial assistance for reconstruction, rehabilitation and rebuilding. UNAMIR will not be able to deliver assistance in those concrete forms — at least, not directly — but it could help create and contribute to something that is intangible and unquantifiable, yet very essential: a climate conducive to the provision not only of assistance but also of reassurance for the refugees.

My delegation will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution. We shall do so, however, on the understanding that, even when UNAMIR's mandate expires on 8 March 1996, the continued presence of the United Nations, as stated by the Secretary-General in paragraph 51 of his report, will be necessary. In this connection, we shall support the continuation of the good offices mission of the Secretary-General, headed by his Special Representative.

Let me, finally, appeal to all members of the international community to see to it that the end of UNAMIR's mandate in March 1996 is not used as a pretext to curtail worthwhile and badly needed financial and material assistance to the Government and the people of Rwanda. There should be life for the United Nations in Rwanda after the departure of UNAMIR. Even as they take their destiny into their own hands, Rwandans of all persuasions will still need our help for a very long time to come.

The President (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Nigeria for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Henze (Germany): As this is the first time this month we have spoken in this Chamber, I, too, should like, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. Your skills, your eloquence and your ability to persuade will certainly help us do our work. My delegation pledges its full cooperation.

I should also like to take this opportunity to thank Ambassador Al-Khussaiby for the dedicated and efficient way in which he and his delegation conducted the Council's work last month.

My delegation is one of the sponsors of the draft resolution on which the Council will vote, by which the peace-keeping assignment of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) has been extended for three months, with a revised mandate. The revised mandate reflects the progress made within Rwanda towards stability and security. The overriding requirement now is to assist the Government of Rwanda in facilitating the safe and voluntary return of refugees. The presence of 1.6 million Rwandan refugees outside Rwanda's borders continues to be a major burden for Rwanda and for the whole subregion. Their voluntary and safe return will be an essential contribution to national reconciliation within the country. Their repatriation is also essential for improving the general security situation in the Great Lakes region. My Government is satisfied that, with this draft resolution, UNAMIR continues to have a mandate which allows it, as we hope, effectively to assist in this process. In this respect, we welcome the declaration of the Heads of State of the Great Lakes region made in Cairo on 29 November.

With the adoption of the present draft resolution, the Security Council will furthermore decide upon the request of the Government of Rwanda to withdraw UNAMIR after 8 March. My Government would have preferred not to decide now on the end of UNAMIR's mission, but, of course, we respect the wish of the Rwandan Government. We are certain that it will provide full cooperation to UNAMIR while the Mission is still on the ground.

UNAMIR continues to provide protection for the International Tribunal for Rwanda. The Government of Rwanda, however, has insisted that it alone will now provide protection for other international personnel. It is no secret that we would have liked a mandate with a longer term and a larger UNAMIR force. In the view of my Government, international agencies and non-governmental organizations on the ground will not be able to carry out their important humanitarian and reconstruction tasks unless their safety is ensured. That will now be the task of the Government of Rwanda. It will have to fully cooperate with them. My Government is confident that Rwanda will fulfil this task. It intends to continue its substantial assistance to Rwanda's reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts on this basis.

I would like to conclude by paying a particular tribute to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Rwanda, to the Force Commander of UNAMIR, and to all other UNAMIR personnel for their dedicated work in this important United Nations Mission.

The President (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Germany for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. We are fully convinced that under your leadership the work of the Council will be successful. My delegation therefore pledges its full cooperation. I also wish to congratulate the Ambassador of Oman, as well as his entire delegation, on his

successful and brilliant guidance of the work of the Security Council during the month of November.

The report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), dated 1 December of this year, indicates that there have been improvements in the economic and social fields in Rwanda, as well as in the restoration of its judicial system. However, it is also apparent from the report that a climate of tension still persists in that country as a result of the lack of progress made in the field of national reconciliation and the relative deterioration of the conditions of regional security.

In fact, the Secretary-General points out to us in his report that

> "the main factor that prevents a return to stability, security and harmony in Rwanda is the absence of a process of national reconciliation. This depends on the creation of conditions conducive to the return of the 1.6 million refugees currently outside Rwanda and for the judgement of those accused of genocide." *(S/1995/1002, para. 9)*

My delegation agrees with this statement. In fact, there has been no major progress with respect to the number of Rwandan refugees returning voluntarily to their country, because an intimidation campaign still persists in the refugee camps, because the refugees continue to fear accusations, upon their return to Rwanda, of having participated in the genocide perpetrated last year or because they face uncertainty about finding their homes or their property upon their return.

Voluntary and safe repatriation is an essential element for national reconciliation, but the return of Rwandan refugees must be voluntary and must take place in safe and dignified conditions. This is why we agree with the statement in the report that forced repatriation could give rise to acts of violence and, consequently, to another humanitarian disaster. Voluntary repatriation must take place in accordance with the basic framework provided by the Nairobi Declaration and the Bujumbura plan of action, and an effort must be made to eliminate obstacles impeding the achievement of that objective.

The other element that gives rise to tension in Rwanda is the infiltration of armed forces and militias of the previous Rwandan regime from the refugee camps found in neighbouring countries. Those acts, in our view, contribute to increasing tensions at the local level and to a deterioration of the conditions of regional security. My delegation wishes to emphasize in this regard the importance of the Secretary-General's initiative to hold a regional conference of the Great Lakes countries, under the auspices of the United Nations, to deal with questions of regional security and stability. We have taken note with satisfaction that at the regional Conference held recently in Cairo a declaration was issued in which the countries of the region pledge to take specific measures for peace, justice, reconciliation, stability and development.

In view of the current situation in Rwanda and in the region as a whole, we believe that UNAMIR must remain in that country to facilitate the voluntary return of the refugees to their home communities; to contribute to the security of the International Tribunal, the Human Rights Operation and the personnel and premises of humanitarian-assistance agencies; to lend assistance to the rebuilding of basic infrastructure; to provide medical attention; or to participate in monitoring activities. Given that the presence of the Mission also contributes to giving the refugees confidence to return to the country, we share the Secretary-General's view that

> "if UNAMIR was to be perceived as abandoning Rwanda at this critical time, it would send a discouraging message to the refugees, to the region and to the international community at large", *(S/1995/1002, para. 48)*

and we agree with his comment that the purpose of restoring peace and stability has to do not only with Rwanda but with the region as a whole, and that it requires the achievement of reconciliation, the return of refugees and justice.

Taking these views into account, my delegation believes that we should spare no effort in assisting the Government of Rwanda to promote a climate of stability and confidence in the country. In addition, we agree that the level of international assistance for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Rwanda shall be increased. We shall therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution, which renews the mandate of UNAMIR until 8 March 1996.

We urge the Government of Rwanda to continue to cooperate with UNAMIR in the implementation of its mandate.

The President *(interpretation from Russian):* I thank the representative of Honduras for his kind words addressed to me.

I now put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/1995/1015.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President *(interpretation from Russian):* There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1029 (1995).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Gnehm (United States of America): I should like to join other members of the Council in congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the responsibilities of President of the Security Council for this month, and to express again my appreciation to Ambassador Al-Khussaiby for his good stewardship last month.

The situation in Rwanda has changed significantly over the course of the presence in that country of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). Internal conditions, we are gratified to note, are fairly stable, due to the combined efforts of the Government of Rwanda, the donor community and UNAMIR itself. UNAMIR has been a factor in helping to foster a climate of security within Rwanda.

Unfortunately, the situation in the region of which Rwanda finds itself a part still faces instability, due to the presence of over a million refugees just over Rwanda's borders. As former President Carter, the President of Rwanda and the leaders of Rwanda's neighbours all acknowledged at the Cairo Summit last month, the repatriation of those refugees is a critical element in bringing peace and stability to the region.

We believe UNAMIR can play an important role in facilitating the voluntary and safe return of refugees to their former homes in Rwanda. To that end, the mandate of UNAMIR for the next three months has been refocused on the range of tasks it can perform to help smooth the way for the refugees' repatriation.

Another element in bringing about the return of the refugees and national reconciliation is the work of the International Tribunal for Rwanda. We are heartened that, after a regrettably slow start, the Tribunal is on the verge of having an impact on the culture of impunity which permeates society. It is vitally important that the Tribunal, as an institution and as individuals working in the cause of justice, have the sense of security needed to continue their impartial investigations and prosecutions. Clearly, they cannot do so without the protection and goodwill of the Government of Rwanda. It is equally clear that they need the added guarantee of an impartial third party to ensure their independence. The Tribunal, we understand, is arranging for a United Nations presence that would replace UNAMIR in ensuring its independence, and we appreciate the cooperation of the Government of Rwanda in that effort. However, that new presence is not yet in place. We firmly believe that the duties of UNAMIR must continue to include assisting in the protection of the Tribunal's personnel and premises until alternate arrangements are operational.

UNAMIR has provided invaluable support and assistance to the various United Nations agencies and humanitarian organizations which have been working to assist the people and Government of Rwanda. The presence of the peacekeepers has helped to reassure these international aid personnel as they carry out their tasks in a volatile and unstable environment. We fully expect UNAMIR to continue to assist the humanitarian agencies as the need arises. United Nations forces have the right — indeed, the obligation — to come to the aid of other United Nations and other international personnel in times of need.

The resolution we have just adopted renews UNAMIR for a final period of three months. After that time, UNAMIR will be terminated and all its military personnel withdrawn within six weeks. Following the departure of UNAMIR, however, the international community should not abandon Rwanda. The United Nations needs to retain a strong presence in Rwanda to provide the assistance in reconstruction, rehabilitation, justice and political reconciliation that is so sorely needed there. This includes non-governmental organizations, some of which have been essential in helping United Nations agencies, such as the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to carry out their work. The expulsion of non-governmental

organizations is a matter which causes concern for my Government.

The last three months of the mandate should be used to put into place a non-military logistics lifeline to sustain the various United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations, including the International Tribunal and the Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda, which have benefited from the presence of UNAMIR's extensive logistics and communications network.

UNAMIR has been successful in its mission. I would like to take this opportunity to commend all the men and women who have served with UNAMIR throughout its difficult tenure in Rwanda, from Special Representative Khan and the Force Commanders to the support staff. They will continue to rely on the active cooperation of the Government of Rwanda to carry out their mandate and draw their mission to a close.

Peace and security have been restored to Rwanda, after devastating events. We hope the people of Rwanda can finally put the horrors of the past behind them and move into a phase of rehabilitation, reconstruction and reconciliation.

The President *(interpretation from Russian)*: I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Fulci (Italy): At the outset I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. I am sure that under your skilful and experienced guidance our work this month will be smooth and fruitful. I also wish to assure you of the full cooperation of the whole Italian delegation.

At the same time, I should like to thank very warmly Ambassador Salim Al-Khussaiby, the Permanent Representative of Oman, for a most successful and prestigious presidency for the month of November.

Like other members of the Council, I should like to underline that it is very important that today the Security Council was able to adopt a resolution to renew the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for three months. Failure to do so could have jeopardized the prospect of further normalization and increased stability in the Great Lakes region.

In the past 12 months, the situation in Rwanda has steadily normalized. Significant progress has been made in many sectors of the country's life, with the resumption of productive activity, the first steps towards re-establishing the judiciary and improvement in the humanitarian situation. The Rwandese Government deserves credit for these results.

On the other hand, many serious problems remain unresolved. They are, first, the question of refugee repatriation; secondly, bringing to justice those responsible for the genocide — although we welcome the fact that today a first order was issued for the arrest of one of the guilty; thirdly, conditions of life in the prisons, which are barely at the subsistence level; and, fourthly, the urgent need to fully reactivate the judicial system.

All these issues must be addressed. Ending the United Nations Mission to Rwanda would certainly not have helped the United Nations to mobilize the support and the international assistance needed to address the foregoing issues and to rebuild the country or ease the growing tension in the Great Lakes region.

Moreover, to achieve the common goal of the voluntary repatriation of refugees, which, let us recall, Rwanda and other interested countries solemnly pledged to do at the Cairo conference, a climate of trust and confidence must prevail in the country and throughout the region. The authorities and people of Rwanda are undertaking the difficult job of reconstruction and development after the devastation and horror of the genocide. However, efforts in this direction cannot produce any long-term effects until stability has been assured both inside the country and on its borders. There can be no development without peace, reconciliation and stability.

We further wish to express our hope that in the next three months a new relationship will be forged between Rwanda, the United Nations and the international community. Distrust and suspicion are certainly not the ingredients that will help foster international cooperation in the area, and the statement of our colleague from Canada, Ambassador Robert Fowler, could not have been more eloquent in this regard. Indeed, dialogue always pays much more than confrontation, in all areas and in all questions.

Italy remains convinced that the root causes of the instability afflicting the Great Lakes region must be

radically addressed. While we welcomed the conference in Cairo, we reiterate the need to convene a broad-ranging conference on peace, stability and development in the area, under the auspices of the United Nations and other international organizations — and the sooner it takes place, the better.

The President (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Italy for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Ladsous (France) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me, first of all, to extend to you, Sir, my delegation's congratulations on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of December and, at the same time, my gratitude to the Ambassador of Oman, as well as his delegation, for the way in which he presided over the Council in the month of November.

The delegation of France voted in favour of the draft resolution which was put to a vote today, but, I must emphasize, we did so without fully supporting it.

Clearly, the Government of France has taken note of the developments in the situation in Rwanda, as highlighted by the Secretary-General in his report. We must point out that in an area as critical as justice, developments — positive developments — are taking place. It remains no less true — and here we share the concerns of the Secretary-General — that Rwanda and, more generally, the Great Lakes region continue to face very serious problems. Efforts to forge national reconciliation in Rwanda are not bearing fruit. The refugees — numbering 1,600,000 — are still in the very place where they installed themselves more than a year and a half ago, and there is no real hope for them to return home in the short-term. It must, finally, be recognized that stability and security in that region of Africa have not been re-established. Tension remains high in the region and there is cause for concern for the future.

In this context, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) has so far played a positive role, as has the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, a role which the delegation of France would like to emphasize. For this very reason, the Government of France had hoped that this operation would remain in place to carry out the tasks entrusted to it by the Security Council last June.

The text we have just adopted allows the Blue Helmets to extend their mission for a final period of three months, within the framework of a slightly changed mandate. Frankly speaking, we would have preferred not to take a decision today to end the operation in March 1996. But the Government of Rwanda took a different decision. We note that decision but hope that the ultimate departure of the United Nations does not coincide with a deterioration in the situation in that part of Africa.

The Government of France followed with particular attention the talks held by the Heads of State of the region in Cairo and the Declaration they adopted on 29 November 1995. We have taken due note of the commitments they made on that occasion and we continue to believe that the countries that participated in the talks will, in due course, need assistance from the international community to promote a lasting settlement of the problems in the region, of course within the framework of a conference organized to that end under the auspices of the United Nations and in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

Similarly, the Government of France believes that it will be even more necessary for the United Nations to play a role in Rwanda once UNAMIR has departed. For that reason, we urge the Government of Rwanda to be flexible in the negotiations with the Secretariat on this question, which will begin shortly.

We can understand that the Government of Rwanda is hoping that the international community will provide assistance for reconstruction and development. There is no doubt, in our view, that a positive and understanding attitude on the part of the Government can only serve to encourage countries, international institutions and non-governmental agencies that want to help Rwanda to do just that.

The President (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of France for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): It is a pleasure for my delegation to see you, Sir, presiding over the Security Council for the month of December. We are confident that your wisdom and skill will help to expedite the Council's work. My delegation has always thought that you have a quiet strength that can move mountains. My delegation is at hand to assist you in your task.

My delegation takes this opportunity to thank Ambassador Al-Khussaiby for the way he presided over the Council last month. Thanks to his great wisdom, skill

and diplomacy, he was able to help the Council make remarkable progress in its work. My delegation also wishes to thank the Secretary-General for his report on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). Furthermore, we would like to thank those who drafted today's resolution and the countries contributing troops to UNAMIR. I wish to assure them of the cooperation of the Government of Rwanda with UNAMIR during the period of this new mandate.

(*spoke in English*)

I have promised to speak in English. I would like to address the contradictions based on the positions taken by the Secretariat and the Security Council decision on the recent situation faced by Rwanda.

The first contradiction is based on the fact that appropriate action was taken before and during the genocide in Rwanda.

I would begin by reminding the Council of the history of UNAMIR. The Mission was established on 5 October 1993 by Security Council resolution 872 (1993) with a mandate to, among other things, assist in ensuring the security of Kigali — I repeat, the security of Kigali; monitor the security situation during the final period of the transitional Government's mandate, leading up to the elections agreed on in the 1993 Arusha peace agreement; and investigate and report on incidents regarding the Rwandese gendarmerie and police.

In the early part of 1994, high-ranking personnel of UNAMIR, United Nations agencies and the diplomatic corps in Kigali were aware that members of the former Government were planning mass killings of Rwandese. That information was also well known at United Nations Headquarters and some influential members of the international community. Despite that clear knowledge and UNAMIR's mandate to ensure security, at least in Kigali, UNAMIR personnel, as soldiers and human beings, appeared unable to assist innocent unarmed civilians, women and children among them, as well as hospitalized patients.

In April, when genocide was launched on an unprecedented scale, the response of the Security Council was to withdraw UNAMIR. In response to that grave situation, this decision seemed peculiar. On 21 April, two weeks after the killings began, the members of this very Council decided, by resolution 912 (1994), to reduce UNAMIR's force level from 2,500 to 270, a number incapable of responding to the extensive trauma being experienced by Rwandese society at that time. The mandate and size of this symbolic force made it ineffective in the face of the mass slaughter organized by the State.

As a result, by the end of June 1994 — after only three months — approximately one million Rwandese had been massacred in a genocide unprecedented in Africa, the third genocide of this century, watched by the entire world on international television. In the meantime, the Member States that had ratified the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide were hesitating to act. In a three-month period, one eighth of Rwanda's population was exterminated.

Operation Turquoise, another solution proposed by the Security Council, only exacerbated an already complex situation. In spite of its mandate to provide security and to protect displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk, Operation Turquoise provided a safe haven for the perpetrators of genocide, who would later use it as a base to attack innocent civilians and the forces of the new Government of Rwanda. The camp at Kibeho was a typical example of this. It was the Rwandese themselves who, single-handedly, took on the mammoth task and stopped the massacres on 4 July.

The second contradiction is based on the implementation process based on earlier decisions taken by the Security Council. Four months later, in September 1994, UNAMIR was redeployed at a strength of 5,500 — a redeployment that was far too late and too large. That is why its mandate, which was defined on 17 May by Security Council resolution 918 (1994), was not appropriate. The situation had drastically changed inside Rwanda.

In fact, UNAMIR's mandate could have been best implemented outside Rwanda in refugee camps to prevent the intimidation of refugees in the camps outside Rwanda, facilitate the refugees' return to Rwanda and implement the Security Council's resolution on the arms embargo against the former Rwandese Government, which has been consistently violated. Simultaneously, the international community had an obligation to arrest and detain those responsible for planning and committing genocide and to ensure the speedy functioning of the International Tribunal for Rwanda. All of this had to be done outside Rwanda.

Following the Rwandese victory over genocide, a policy of national reconciliation, as established in the Arusha Agreement, has been fundamental in the reconstruction of a traumatized Rwandese society. In that context, a Government of National Unity comprising the main opposition parties was formed. A National Parliament representing all political parties was constituted. Over six million Rwandese, including new and old returning refugees, are living together peacefully inside the country. Intensive contacts are in progress with Governments and refugees in neighbouring countries to facilitate the return of more recent refugees. There has been a reintegration of former administrative personnel into the new public service and the new Rwandese army has reintegrated large numbers of soldiers and high-ranking officers of the former regime.

All of these policy decisions and actions constitute national reconciliation for the Rwandese. This contrasts with other interpretations of what national reconciliation should be, such as implicit proposals for the integration of the leaders/planners of genocide into the Government by various strategies, including regional conferences.

As far as we Rwandese are concerned, national reconciliation is in progress. The new Government of Rwanda, with the cooperation of a large number of Member States, has been able to accomplish a great deal in the past few months, in spite of an acute lack of resources and limited and conditional support from some sectors of the international community. It has been able to establish a climate of security and stability within the country. Much progress has been made in economic and social rehabilitation. The recent appointment of Supreme Court judges by the Rwandese National Assembly has contributed to the revival of the national judicial system, which is essential to putting an end to the spirit of impunity which has prevailed in Rwanda for decades.

Despite the tremendous efforts of the Rwandese Government, it is important to understand some of the problems facing Rwanda. They include bringing the perpetrators of genocide to justice, both nationally and internationally; putting an end to infiltration and sabotage by the former Rwandese armed forces along Rwanda's western border; the intimidation of refugees in the refugee camps; and the economic and social reconstruction of Rwanda.

At the present time, UNAMIR cannot and is not expected to respond to any of these priorities. Nevertheless, the Government of Rwanda has appreciated the assistance provided by the Mission, particularly by the small force left in Rwanda during the dark days of genocide, and by its commander, his staff and others who lost their lives assisting Rwandese. UNAMIR has played an important role in facilitating transportation and providing logistical support in areas of need in Rwanda. In that respect, UNAMIR's departure will leave a gap in those areas. The loss of transportation and office, communication and medical equipment, to name a few things, as a result of pillage by the former Rwandese Government and the former armed forces has left Rwanda in great need.

For that reason, the Government of Rwanda has requested the donation of some of UNAMIR's non-lethal equipment to the Government and the people of Rwanda on UNAMIR's departure. The entire world knows that Rwanda is in need and that such donations would be a gesture of good will on the part of Member States and the Secretariat to a people who have experienced an unprecedented tragedy and its aftermath during the past 20 months. Rwanda's request is based on precedents in the case of Cambodia and other United Nations peace-keeping missions.

Regarding the present status of UNAMIR, the Government of Rwanda is willing to extend the presence of UNAMIR for three months on condition that its mandate be adjusted accordingly. During that period and later, the Government of Rwanda will continue to ensure the security of all persons in Rwanda, including UNAMIR personnel, personnel of international organizations, members of the international community and personnel of the International Tribunal for Rwanda. Additional measures have already been agreed on between the Government of Rwanda and the International Tribunal to ensure the protection of the Tribunal personnel. Any other needs in the area of security will be considered by the Rwandese Government, as appropriate.

The President (*interpretation from Russian*): I thank the representative of Rwanda for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Ladsous (France) (*interpretation from French*): I apologize for speaking again, but I cannot help but react to the assertion made by the Permanent Representative of Rwanda when he said that:

> "Operation Turquoise ... only exacerbated an already complex situation. In spite of its mandate to provide security and to protect displaced persons ...

Operation Turquoise provided a safe haven for the perpetrators of genocide" *(supra, p. 42)*.

I should simply like to recall two facts. First, Operation Turquoise was a humanitarian operation, an operation intended strictly to save human lives at a time — and we must remember this — when the international community had been unable to mobilize to reinstall the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) at the level required to act effectively against genocide and to resolve all the tragedies that were taking place at that time. I would merely point out in passing that that humanitarian mandate was carried out by a multinational force in which many African countries participated.

Secondly, and this fact is also unchallengeable, Operation Turquoise was undertaken on the basis of a mandate given by the Security Council in resolution 929 (1994) of 22 June 1994. My country was an active participant in that force. We did not do so, obviously, to be thanked later; we did so simply because there was a human tragedy to be resolved and because hundreds of thousands of people were being threatened with massacre, and I believe that any satisfaction we may feel is at having prevented those persons from being massacred in their turn.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation does not wish to engage in polemics, since we have great respect for the French delegation.However, since we are called upon to furnish some explanation here, I should like to state the position of the Government of Rwanda in this respect.

First, with regard to Operation Turquoise, it is our view that it came too late. It may very well have been done with good will, but it was too late: a million Rwandans had already been exterminated. In any event, we do thank its participants for having come.

Secondly, as for its being a multinational force, I should like to make a correction. The multinational part of the force was symbolic. The force was made up of people from one country only and its other members were symbols to lend it an international flavour.

Thirdly, I should like to say that as for calling it a humanitarian operation, that was not at all the case, especially if one considers the *matériel* utilized by the force upon its arrival. That *matériel* was far more military than it was humanitarian.

Fourthly, I should like to point out that, whether purposely or not — and again, I do not want to enter into polemics — the zone created, known as Zone Turquoise, was one in which all the criminals who had been unable to cross the frontier came to take refuge. Their last chance was the camp at Kibeho, where all their arms were stockpiled — and everyone knows what happened when they tried to get them out.

The President (*interpretation from Russian*): There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.